

THE MAJORITY.

"The hard doctrine of the unsoundness of the majority" was the burden of Mr. Matthew Arnold's first lecture on "Warblers" to the American people. He hesitated to apply this doctrine to us, because, as he said, there were among his hearers some who think that already on a former occasion he had said quite enough about America without having seen it. But nevertheless he closed his lecture by saying that, by the necessity of things, our majority must in the present case of the world probably be unsound. This assertion was supported by no facts or illustrations derived from our history or present condition. It was rather a supposition made for the purpose of "exploiting" his more comfortable doctrine of the "remnant." "The remnant shall remain" and recover the unsound majority is his hope for our future. The lecture, as a whole, has the conspicuous fault of discussions that are made up of phrases and quotations, rather than of logical arguments. We have seen only an abstract of it, giving its salient points, in the New York papers. But in that abstract there are quotations from Dr. Johnson, Bishop Butler, John Bright, Plato, Jesus and Paul, Cardinal Newman, Isidore and other prelates, Mr. Bradlaugh, M. Roman, M. Blows and his father, Dr. Thomas Arnold. The lecture was an application of the American people to a phrase, rather than the application of a phrase to us. In order to glorify the remnant, he assumes that the majority is unsound. He takes it for granted that Plato's account of the most gifted and brilliant community of the ancient world, in which "there was but a very small number of honest followers of wisdom," describes our people. He seems to be ignorant of the fact that the world has made progress since the days of Plato and Isidore, although he admits that because of our descent from the German stock, the stock of "the most moral races of man the world has yet seen, with the soundest laws, the least violent passions and the fairest domestic and civil virtues," and because we have been enabled through the discipline of Puritanism to appropriate more divine ideas than any other people, we possess an incomparable remnant.

It must be admitted that the history of the world furnishes much foundation for Mr. Arnold's comfortable doctrine of "the remnant." "Every fever soul," as the late Prof. Dumas said, "exists in the great crises of history to lead the world; the hope of the race has been in the minority, nay, the captain of the most marvellous revolution the world has seen, was a minority of one." Eloquent, aggressive, self-forgetting minorities have been in every age the conditions of social progress. The tyranny of the majority has been ruthlessly exercised against them by arbitrary power, for the love of law, the love of money, and, in the end, the love of the race, the religion, and the rack. The crownings event in our national history was the result of a public movement, created, shaped and carried to its triumph by a patient and resolute minority. The majority with us, however, has never yielded an aggravated rule, nor before has the majority been subject, in so many ways, to checks and bounds as under American institutions. Our case is exceptional also, because we, happily, have no class sustained by incurable social distinctions, to hopeless poverty and ignorance. A few of our larger cities furnish an element, it is true, similar to the Roman populace when the rule of the masses was not insulted by organized oppression, but this element is not the product of our civilization. It has come to us from countries where "the remnant," and not the majority, rule. The majority with us is a majority now, indeed, of high culture, not excepting always from the influence of prejudice, but it is singularly open to new impressions, and always ready to recognize the application of a principle. It has always shown a tenacious fidelity to the great principles on which all free governments must rest. Lord Bacon, who denounces an appeal to the majority as the worst of all tests in the decision of purely intellectual questions, admits that in politics and religion it is the safest rule. It was the will of the majority which fixed the articles of Catholic faith at Nîmes, and which admitted the bulk of rights as part of the British constitution.

The great danger of that country is in the tendency to a surrender of popular power to "the remnant." It is a danger similar to that which Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's greatest statesman, saw when he said "If England is ever ruined it will be by a parliament." Most men find it hard to recall the fact that a band of very evil creatures once did, and nearly \$200,000 was raised, which was placed in charge of the United States treasurer. There have been no contributions to the fund since 1871, and now it is evident that of the original sum raised only \$2,500 remains in the treasurers hands. The rest of the amount has been eaten up by expenses." Clark Mills was paid \$5500 for models. About \$1400 was paid for lost overcoats and wraps at the ball given in aid of the fund in 1863. Other expenses were paid to agents and the cost of printing and engraving. With the present amount in the treasury, and the general apathy on the subject, it is hardly probable that the sum will ever be recovered.

The Minneapolis Tribune, noting the marvellous progress of that young city, states that during the present year 300 new business concerns have been established there, of which sixty two are now manufacturing establishments. It also states that \$1,700,000 additional capital has been invested in the city's public trade during the past ten months, and that the year's transactions of the wholesale and public trade will exceed a total of \$24,000,000. Minneapo. now has 75,000 inhabitants and is pushing ahead wonderfully.

While Matthew Arnold is presenting the comfortable doctrine of the "remnant" to the people of this country, Gladstone is preparing to extend the suffrage in England. If his plan is adopted by parliament it will add about 1,000,000 electors to the franchises and will enormously increase the voting strength of the Irish. The Tories are bitterly opposed to the plan. They wish to have the "remnant" continue to exercise power over the majority, for they are the remnant.

In the condition of the streets of Portland suggests an argument which may be brought to bear on the prohibition of the liquor traffic. We have stringent local laws to prohibit mail upon our streets, and to require the removal when it accumulates. But the people don't want to enforce the law, and the law is not disturbed. It would be the same way with a prohibitory liquor law, whether such law were a legislative statute or put in the form of an amendment to the constitution.

When a man by a course of vice and dissipation exhausts his capacity for the enjoyment of life the same self-indulgence which has caused his misery suggests suicide as a means of relieving it. Not to speak of his wickedness, it is a horribly selfish and cowardly act. The well-known habits of Mr. Johnson may afford a clue to the explanation of many mysterious suicides. A group of gentleman most of them old soldiers, were once talking about the numerous shades of a brilliant young officer whose prospects seemed very bright, and one after another expressed surprise at his unaccountable death. With those gentlemen over-hearing their conversation, and learning of the suicide referred to for the first time, was a young man who had become thoroughly assimilated by a life in New York and Paris. After the condoners had been given up he said, "who knows but what the poor devil had syphilis?" Of course no one knew, but there was a very impressive suggestion in the

question. It is referred to in this connection simply because it suggests, better perhaps than argument can prove, that life is not abated the temptation to terminate it by self-murder will be, to a great degree, destroyed.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S LAST SPEECH.

General Sherman is entitled to be heard by the American people when he speaks upon any branch of public affairs, but particularly has he the right of attention when he speaks military subjects. His report, made to the secretary of war upon his retirement from the army two weeks ago, is a document of very considerable value, and it will be received with special attention as the last official utterance of a most beloved commander, no less distinguished as an administrator in peace than as a soldier in war. He regards the Army as substantially eliminated from the problem of the army. "There may be, he says, "epidemic and temporary alarms, but such Indian wars as have hitherto disturbed the public peace and tranquility are not probable. The recent completion of the last of the great transcontinental lines of railway has settled forever the Indian question, the army question and many others which have hitherto troubled the country."

Concluding his report, he records the expression of opinion that it will be found wise to provide a common organization for all arms of the service, as follows: That each regiment of infantry be composed of twelve companies, the same as now, with the artillery and cavalry, making three battalions, each of four companies in time of peace and eight in time of war, that each company shall have 100 men, and that in time of peace two of these battalions (eight companies) shall be maintained with the complement of officers and used as depots for recruits. In this battalion can be placed the officers and men who are disabled by hard service, sickies, and such as are used to the wants of home influence or family importance. We are not an organization, thus briefly described, but more adequately described for our report, to be continued by congress, the regular corps establishment could, I believe, be maintained on the present estimates, and would possess the inestimable advantage of admitting of an increase without disorder of "confusion" to 6000 artillery, 13,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry by the mere scratch of a pen, and the magic wand of money, and afterward, by doubling the enlisted strength of each company, without the further addition of a single officer, we should have the respectable force of 96,000 men, a force large enough for any probable necessity during the remainder of this century. The militia and volunteers of the states would soon follow out and we should have throughout the country these small bands, numbering of four companies instead of the large, cumbersome regiments of 16 companies, a bad tactical unit, and in practice always scattered.

The change of the command of the army was made with an undisturbed simplicity and an absence of all formality, fully in the republican spirit and so truly admirable. It is not because he has outdone his children, and through them his son has outdone him, but because he has done his duty. When it is said that his father is a bankrupt, and a bankrupt new out of employment, and a bankrupt son out of employment, we may readily guess what kind of chance the poor child has had for instruction and receive the brand of a felon, and so it is. Here is one of the hardest of all problems. This child is one of a large class who are cursed with existence, who are brought into the world and get afforded no opportunity of discipline or instruction to fit them for useful and happy lives. When it is said that his father is a bankrupt, and a bankrupt new out of employment, we may readily guess what kind of chance the poor child has had for instruction and receive the brand of a felon, and so it is. 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